

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 040735
ORIGIN IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /015 R

66011
DRAFTED BY IO/UNA:BJSHARP
APPROVED BY IO/UNA:JFTEFFT
-----034295 160340Z /72
O 160129Z FEB 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE 0000

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FOR USDEL TO HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

FOL RPT BELGRADE 895 ACTION SECSTATE INFO SECDEF WASHDC
6 FEB 78 QUOTE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BELGRADE 895

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 895

FOR EUR/RPM, EUR/SOV AND ACDA FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: CSCE, OCON
SUBJECT: CSCE BELGRADE (CMBS): US STATEMENT ON ER WARHEAD

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF US STATEMENT MADE IN BASKET I DRAFTINGGROUP
FEBRUARY 3 IN RESPONSE TO TABLING BY GDR OF LANGUAGE RECOMMENDING
BANNING OF NEUTRAON BOMB PRODUCTION, BUT ALSO REPLYING TO EASTERN
ALLIES AGAINST ER WARHEADS MADE PERIODICALLY BOTHIN PLENARY AND
IN THE SUBSIDIARY WORKING AND DRAFTING BODY ON SECURITY.
BEGIN TEXT
MR. CHAIRMAN:
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IF THE PROPOSAL MADE BY THE DISTINGUISHED DELGATE OF THE
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC STOOD ALONE, ONE MIGHT SIMPLY NOTE THE
PECULIARITY OF ITS FOCUS, DEALING AS IT DOES WITH ONLY ONE AMONG
THE MANY NEW WEAPONS WHOSE DEVELOPMENT IS RELEVANT TO THE
ISSUES OF MILITARY BALANCE AND STABILITY IN EUROPE, AND THEN
PASS ON TO MORE CONSTRUCTIVE BUSINESS.

HOWEVER, THIS PROPOSAL DOES NOT STAND ALONE. IT IS PRESENTED
TO US AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF REPEATED POLEMIC INTERVENTIONS
BY DELEGATES OF A NUMBER OF EASTERN STATES DENOUNCING
THE SO-CALLED NEUTRON BOMB AND SEEKING TO PORTRAY ITS DEVELOPMENT

AS A UNIQUELY MALEVOLENT AND THREATING TURN IN THE ARMS RACE. THESE STATEMENTS, OF COURSE, ARE PART OF A BROADER PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN WAGED WITH GREAT ENERGY FOR MORE THAN HALF A YEAR NOW.

AS I SAID THE LAST TIME THE DELEGAGE OF THE SOVIET UNION, COLONEL MIKHAILOV, MADE DISPARAGING REFERENCE TO THE NEUTRAON BOMB, I DON'T THINK WE SHOULD WASTE THE TIME OF THIS DRAFTING BODY TRADING ACCUSATIONS ABOUT WEAPONS SYSTEMS, ABOUT THE NEUTRON BOMB OR INDEED ABOUT THE SS-20 MISSILE. APPARENTLY MY CONCERN IS NOT RECIPROCATED. SO BE IT. I THINK IT IS TIME TO CLEAR AWAY THE FOG OF EPITHETS WITH A FEW FACTS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, I REFERRED A MOMENT AGO TO THE SO-CALLED "NEUTRON BOMB". THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THIS WEAPON MIGHT BE BETTER UNDERSTOOD IF IT WERE REFERRED TO BY A MORE DESCRIPTIVE NAME: THE "REDUCED-BLAST, ENHANCED-RADIATION WARHEAD".

I REALIZE THAT THIS IS A CUMBERSOME TITLE, THAT IT TAKES A MOUTHFUL OF WORDS TO PRONOUNCE IN ANY LANGUAGE, AND THAT IT IS A PARTICULARLY AWKWARD CONSTRUCTION FOR THOSE WHO WISH, FOR PROPAGANDA REASONS, TO PORTRAY DEVELOPMENT OF THIS WEAPON AS A NEW, SINISTER AND DESTABILIZING DEPARTURE FROM THE EXISTING CAPABILITIES OF NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES.

A REDUCED-BLAST, ENHANCED-RADIATION WARHEAD IS NOT A NEW WEAPON OF MASS DESTRUCTION. IT IS A NUCLEAR WEAPON, AND LIKE ALL SUCH WEAPONS, IT PRODUCES A BLAST, A SHOCK WAVE, AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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RADIATION. IT IS AN IMPROVED VERSION OF, AND IS DESIGNED AS A POSSIBLE REPLACEMENT FOR, SOME OF THE TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS PRESENTLY IN NATO ARSENALS IN EUROPE; SUCH TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS ALSO EXIST IN WARSAW PACT ARSENALS.

I HOPE YOU WILL BEAR WITH, MR. CHAIRMAN, IF I PURSUE THIS BASIS POINT FOR A MOMENT. TO DISTINGUISH FACT FROM FICTION, SOME TECHNICAL EXPLANATION IS REQUIRED. COMPARED TO CURRENTLY DEPLOYED TACTICAL NUCLEAR WARHEADS, REDUCED-BLAST, ENHANCED-RADIATION WARHEADS EMIT A MUCH GREATER PROPORTION OF THEIR TOTAL ENERGY AS PROMPT NUCLEAR RADIATION, IN THE FORM OF NEUTRONS; THEY EMIT A PROPORTIONATELY SMALLER PART AS BLAST AND HEAT. IN PRESENT WEAPONS, BLAST AND THERMAL EFFECTS PREDOMINATE, AND THESE AFFECT A MUCH LARGER AREA THAN THAT AFFECTED BY THE PROMPT NUCLEAR RADIATION WHICH SUCH WEAPONS RELEASE. HOWEVER, SINCE TANKS ARE RELATIVELY RESISTANT TO HEAT AND BLAST, IT IS THE PROMPT RADIATION, LETHAL TO OPERATING CREWS, WHICH WOULD BE MOST EFFECTIVE IN HALTING AN INVADING TANK FORMATION.

A HYPOTHETICAL 1-KILOTON ENHANCED-RADIATION, REDUCED-BLAST WARHEAD WOULD PRODUCE ROUGHLY THE SAME PROMPT RADIATION AS A TEN-KILOTON STANDARD FISSION WARHEAD. EACH WOULD BE LETHAL AGAINST ENEMY TANKS OVER AN AREA WITH A RADIUS OF ABOUT A KILOMETER. HOWEVER, THE BROADER AREA OVER WHICH COLLATERAL DAMAGE WOULD BE PRODUCED BY HEAT OR BLAST WOULD BE REDUCED FROM THREE AND ONE HALF KILOMETERS TO ONE KILOMETER. IN ADDITION, THE RESIDUAL RADIATION, OR FALLOUT, FROM FRAGMENTS OF THE EXPLOSION WOULD BE LESS. THUS, WHILE POSING THE SAME THREAT TO ENEMY ARMOR,

REDUCED-BLAST ENHANCED-RADIATION WARHEADS WOULD GREATLY RESTRICT COLLATERAL DAMAGE TO NEARBY CIVILIANS, URBAN AREAS AND FRIENDLY FORCES. BY REDUCING FALL-OUT, THEY WOULD ALSO PERMIT MORE RAPID REOCCUPATION OF THE AREA AFFECTED.

THIS IS NOT A WEAPON WHICH, AS SOME HAVE SAID, WOULD KILL PEOPLE WHILE SPARING THINGS. IT WOULD REDUCE PHYSICAL DAMAGE IN THE SURROUNDING AREA. MORE IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, IT WOULD REDUCE CIVILIAN AND FRIENDLY MILITARY CASUALTIES, WITHOUT LOSS OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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DESTRUCTIVE POWER AGAINST INVADING ENEMY ARMOR.

PRESIDENT BREZHEV HAS CALLED THIS WEAPON "INHUMAN"; FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO HAS CALLED "BARBARIC" THE DELEGATE OF THE SOVIET UNION REPEATED THESE WORDS IN HIS STATEMENT IN PLENARY LAST FRIDAY. I WOULD ACCEPT THEM, BUT APPLY THEM ALSO TO ALL DEVICES DESIGNED TO EXTINGUISH HUMAN LIFE. WHAT ARE WEAPONS WHICH KILL IF NOT INHUMAN? AND TO THE DEGREE THAT WE ARE UNABLE TO CONDUCT THE BUSINESS OF THIS WORLD WITHOUT LETHAL WEAPONRY, ARE NOT WE--NOT THE WEAPONS WE EMPLOY, BUT WE--TO THAT DEGREE BARBARIC?

THE SO-CALLED "NEUTRON BOMB" WOULD KILL IN HORRIBLE WAYS AND CARRY THE RISK OF GENETIC DAMAGE FOR THOSE WHO WERE EXPOSED TO ITS RADIATION AND SURVIVED. BUT SO WOULD ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS, SOME OF THEM FAR MORE MASSIVE AND INDISCRIMINATE THAN THE NEUTRON BOMB. ONE HEARS SOVIET LEADERS AND SOVIET DELEGATES HERE IN BELGRADE SPEAK OF THE INHUMANITY AND BARBARITY OF THE NEUTRON BOMB, ONE WAITS IN VAIN TO HEAR THEM SPEAK OF THE INHUMANITY AND BARBARITY OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE SOVIET ARSENAL WHICH ARE 20,000 TIMES- I REPEAT 20,000 TIMES - MORE POWERFUL.

WHILE THE REDUCED-BLAST, ENHANCED-RADIATION WARHEAD IS A MORE DISCRIMINATING NUCLEAR WEAPON, IT IS STILL A NUCLEAR WEAPON. IT IS NOT, AS THE AMBASSADOR OF THE GDR HAS SARCASTICALLY SAID SOME IN THE WEST SEEM TO THINK, SIMPLY ANOTHER PRODUCT OF TECHNOLOGY--LIKE A "NEW WASHING MACHINE" OR A "NEW SHAVER". I REPEAT, IT IS A NUCLEAR WEAPON. AS THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE CLEAR, ITS DEPLOYMENT WOULD MAKE NO EASIER A DECISION TO TURN TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO DEFEND U.S. FORCES OR TERRITORY, OR TO DEFEND THE FORCES OR TERRITORY OF OUR ALLIES. THE DECISION TO USE THIS OR ANY NUCLEAR WEAPON WOULD REMAIN THE MOST AGONIZING A POLITICAL LEADER COULD FACE. THE POSSIBILITY OF INDISCRIMINATELY DESTRUCTIVE RESPONSES FROM THE OTHER SIDE WOULD REMAIN HIGH, AS WOULD THE POTENTIAL FOR NUCLEAR ESCALATION.

INsofar AS DEPLOYMENT OF THE SO-CALLED "NEUTRON-BOMB" WOULD LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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ENHANCE DETERRENCE, THE EASTERN CAMPAIGN TO DISCREDIT IT AND FRUSTRATE ITS DEPLOYMENT IS OF COURSE UNDERSTANDABLE. IN HIS

STATEMENT IN PLENARY JANUARY 27, THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE, IN WORDS IDENTICAL TO THOSE EMPLOYED BY PRESIDENT BREZHNEV IN HIS DECEMBER 23 INTERVIEW WITH "PRAVDA", COMPLAINED THAT "NOBODY EVEN TRIES TO CONCEAL" THAT THIS WEAPON HAS BEEN DEVELOPED FOR USE AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION. ONE WONDERS IF IT WOULD BE BETTER FROM THE SOVIET STANDPOINT IF ITS POTENTIAL MISSION WERE/WAS CONCEALED? THE REDUCED-BLAST, ENHANCED-RADIATION WARHEAD HAS BEEN DEVELOPED FOR POSSIBLE DEPLOYMENT IN THE EUROPEAN THEATER, WHERE THE WARSAW PACT HOLDS A MORE THAN TWO-TO-ONE ADVANTAGE IN MAIN BATTLE TANKS. AS A MORE EFFECTIVE DEFENSE AGAINST TANK FORMATIONS, ITS PURPOSE WOULD BE TO DETER AGGRESSION BY OFFSETTING THIS OVERWHELMING ADVANTAGE IN ARMOR MORE EFFECTIVELY THAN CURRENTLY DEPLOYED NUCLEAR WEAPONS, OR, IF NECESSARY, TO DEFEAT AGGRESSION SHOULD DETERRENCE FAIL. AS THE DISTINGUISHED DELEGATE OF THE SOVIET UNION IS AWARE, A DECISION ABOUT DEPLOYMENT OF ENHANCED-RADIATION WEAPONS HAS NOT YET BEEN MADE. WHEN IT IS, HOWEVER, I CAN ASSURE HIM THAT IT WILL BE THE PRODUCT OF FULL AND DELIBERATE CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ITS NATO ALLIES, AND NOT OF EASTERN PROPAGANDA EFFORTS TO GROTESQUELY DISTORT THE ISSUES INVOLVED.

IN HIS DECEMBER 23 INTERVIEW WITH "PRAVDA", MR. BREZHNEV PROPOSED THAT THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION MUTUALLY RENOUNCE PRODUCTION OF THIS WEAPON. THIS IS A RATHER CURIOUS OFFER. IT PROPOSES MUTUAL RENUNCIATION OF A WEAPON WHICH THE UNITED STATES HAS DEVELOPED BUT WHICH THE SOVIET UNION HAS NOT. MORE SIGNIFICANTLY, HOWEVER, IT PROPOSES RENUNCIATION OF A SINGLE NUCLEAR WEAPON DESIGNED FOR POSSIBLE DEPLOYMENT IN THE EUROPEAN THEATER WHILE IGNORING THE MANY OTHER THEATER NUCLEAR WEAPONS ALREADY DEPLOYED THERE OR NOW BEING DEPLOYED. LIKE THE STATEMENTS ABOUT THE NEUTRON BOMB MADE BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOVIET UNION, THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, POLAND AND BULGARIA IN THIS BODY AND IN PLENARY, IT NOT SURPRISINGLY HAS NOTHING TO SAY ABOUT THE SS-20, A NEW, MOBILE, MULTIPLE-WARHEAD THEATER MISSILE WHICH IS CAPABLE OF STRIKING ANY TARGET IN EUROPE WITH LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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GREAT ACCURACY AND ENORMOUS DESTRUCTIVE POWER, AND WHICH IS NOW BEING DEPLOYED IN LARGE NUMBERS IN THE SOVIET UNION; NOT SURPRISINGLY

MR. BREZHNEV'S PROPOSAL HAS NOTHING TO SAY ABOUT ANOTHER NEW WEAPONS SYSTEMS OF DEVASTATING CAPABILITY NOW BEING DEPLOYED IN THE EUROPEAN THEATER: THE POWERFUL, NUCLEAR-CAPABLE SUPERSONIC BACKFIRE BOMBER.

COMMENTING TO THE PRESS IN WARSAW ON DECEMBER 30 ON MR. BREZHNEV'S PROPOSAL, PRESIDENT CARTER EXPRESSED HIS HOPE THAT "AS A RESULT OF THE SALT II TALKS, WE MIGHT AGREE WITH THE SOVIETS TO START ADDRESSING THE QUESTION OF THE SO-CALLED TACTICAL (OR THEATER) NUCLEAR WEAPONS, OF WHICH THE ENHANCED-RADIATION OR NEUTRON BOMB WOULD BE ONE." ANOTHER, HE WENT ON TO SAY, WOULD BE THE SS-20, WHICH, MR. CARTER POINTED OUT, IS MUCH

MORE DESTRUCTIVE THAN ANY WEAPON POSSESSED BY THE WESTERN EUROPEAN MEMBERS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE--A WEAPON MUCH MORE DESTABILIZING, HE NOTED, THAN THE SO-CALLED NEUTRON BOMB. SUMMARIZING THE PROBLEM, MR. CARTER STATED, "THERE ARE NOW SEVERAL THOUSAND TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS ALREADY DEPLOYED ON BOTH SIDES IN THE EUROPEAN THEATER, AND THE WHOLE MATTER MUST BE ADDRESSED IN ITS ENTIRETY RATHER THAN ONE WEAPON AT A TIME."

THIS IS A BROADER AND CLEARLY MORE REALISTIC PERSPECTIVE ON THE PROBLEM THAN ONE COULD HOPE TO ACHIEVE LISTENING TO EASTERN PROPAGANDA ABOUT THE NEUTRON BOMB. I HOPE IT IS A PERSPECTIVE UPON WHICH EAST AND WEST WILL BE ABLE TO AGREE, AND WHICH WILL EVENTUALLY FORM THE BASIS FOR SERIOUS FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS, DESIGNED, IF I MAY AGAIN QUOTE PRESIDENT CARTER'S REMARKS, "TO REDUCE THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR DESTRUCTION IN THE EUROPEAN AREA".

FOR THE MOMENT, HOWEVER, EASTERN ATTENTION, AS THE GDR PROPOSAL MAKES CLEAR, REMAINS FIXATED ON THE NEUTRON BOMB.
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I UNDERSTAND THAT IT HAS EVEN TAKEN ITS PLACE WITH THE BEARS AND THE HIGH WIRE ARTISTS AT THE NEW CIRCUS IN MOSCOW. FEATURING A FAT CAPITALIST FONDLING A NEUTRON BOMB, A NEW ACT CULMINATES WITH THE SONSTERNATION OF THE CAPITALIST WHEN SCALES ARE BROUGHT OUT WHICH SHOW THAT A CAGED DOVE OUTWEIGHS HIS BELOVED BOMB. I WILL REGARD IT AS PROGRESS AND ENLIGHTENMENT WHEN THE FAT CAPITALIST IS JOINED BY A BUSHY-EYEBROWED APPARATCHIC FONDLING HIS SS-20 AND BACKFIRE BOMBER, AND CULMINATES IN A WEIGHING CEREMONY IN WHICH THE DOVE OVERBALANCES THE LOT. MAY WE HOPE FOR SUCH A DAY?
END TEXT.
GOLDBER
UNQUOTE VANCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 sep 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SPEECHES, ADVANCED WEAPONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 feb 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE040735
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: IO/UNA:BJSHARP
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D780070-0911
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197802120/baaafbvvy.tel
Line Count: 255
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: d49db5cf-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN IO
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 11 feb 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3475637
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE BELGRADE (CMBS): US STATEMENT ON ER WARHEAD
TAGS: OCON, PARM, MNUC, US, CSCE
To: n/a INFO GENEVA
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/d49db5cf-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014